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The Copy of a

LETTER,

FROM

Lieutenant Colonell JOHN LILBURNE, *to a Freind.*

KIND FRIEND,

THE many Ingagements I owe to you, ties me to give you an account according to your desire how things are with mee; Yesterday being Thursday, the 24. of this present *July*, I was comanded to attend upon the Committee of Examinations, which at the Inner Court of Wards I did; and after that the Committee of Common-Counsell men, that use to sit at Salters Hall was called in, and as I conceive, had given in their papers about Sir *John Lenthalls* businesse, &c. divers other Witnesses were called in, and amongst others, one Mistris *Hana Jencks* going in, desired the Committee to cleer the roome of Mr. *Cole*, the Speakers man, and that hee might be put out of doors, being an enemy to the things she had to declare, and at her second time being called in, as soon as the doore was opened, shee spake; *Gentlemen, I will not come unto you, till Mr.* Cole *be put out of doore, for it is not faire, that my enemies should be present, and my freinds kept out:* So hee was commanded to withdraw, and when it came to my turne to be called in, which was long first, Mr. *Corbit* being in the Chaire, our proceeding, so neer as I can remember, were as followeth.

Lieutenant Colonell *Lilburne*, I am commanded by the House to demand this Question of you; Whether did not you upon the 19. of this present *July*, being Saturday, at *Westminster* say? That there were high and great things discovered conserning divers Members of the House of Commons, which reached as

high as to the Speaker, who from his own hands had sent Three-score Thousand Pounds to the King to *Oxford*, unto which I replyed; Sir, I am a Prisoner committed by the House of Commons, but I know not wherefore; I shall therefore humbly desire to know the cause of my Commitment, and then I shall answer you; unto which he said very angerly; Sir, the House is not bound to declare unto you the cause wherefore they commit you; unto which I said, Then truly I have been a long time mistaken, and so indeed I have; for had I thought that the Parliament had had no Rule but their owne will to have walked by, I should never have drawn my sword for them; and for my part, I know no difference betwixt Tyranny and such proceedings; therefore I pray read the Petition of Right, and the Act made this present Parliament, that condemned the *Star-chamber* and *High Commission*.

Sir, saith Mr. *Corbit*, wee expect from you a positive answer to the Question, and command you to give it: Well Sir, then to it I answer thus, I am a Free-man, yea, a free borne Denizen of *England*, and I have been in the field with my sword in my hand, to venter my life and my blood (against Tyrants) for the preservation of my Freedome, and I doe not know that ever I did an act in all my life that disfranchised me of my freedome, and by vertue of being a Free-man, I conceive I have as true a right to all the priviledges that doth belong to a Free-man, as the greatest man in *England*, whatsoever he be, whether Lord or Commoner, and the ground and foundation of my Freedome, I build upon the grand Charter of *England*, which is published and expressed in the 9. of *H.* 3. *cap.* 1. which I humbly crave leave to read unto this Honourable Committe, and having obtained leave, I read as followeth. *No freeman may be taken and imprisoned, and diseased of his Freehold, or his Libertie, or his free Customes, or out-lawed; or banished, or any way destroyed; neither will wee goe upon him, neither passe upon him, but by the lawfull tryall of his equalls, or by the Law of the Land, Justice and Right we will sell to none, wee will denie to none, nor will deferre to none.* Sir, the Priviledges contained herein is my Birth-right and Inheritance, which Priviledges have been ratified and confirmed to the Free People of *England* this present Parliament, and many Declarations put out against the King for violating of them.

Yet

Yet notwithstanding, since the first of *May* last, I have by Authoritie from the House of Commons, been three times Imprisoned before ever I knew mine accuser, or mine Accusation, or ever was suffered to speak one word in mine owne defence, which I humbly conceive, is contrary to *Magna Carta*, and those Priviledges that I ought to enjoy by vertue of my having an Interest therein; and now I am Imprisoned by Vote of the whole House, I know not wherefore, therefore till it be made knowne unto me wherefore I am Imprisoned, I shall not answer to any of your Interrogatories at all. Unto which Mr. *Corbit*, as also Mr. *Whittaker* replyed, Mr. *Lilburne*, be advised in your expressions, and take heed what you say in this nature: *Gentlemen*, I humbly thanke you for your caution given me, but for your advice, I desire you to keep it to your selves, for I conceive, I know well enough what I say, and truly that rough and hard dealing that I finde from the Parliament and their Officers, forceth me to expresse my self as I doe; for I beseech you, give me leave to tell you, that I was never so affronted and abused in my life amongst my freinds, as I was by your Sergant at Arms, when he apprehended me, who at the going into the Hall, took me by my sword belt, and drag'd, and pull'd, and shooke me, giving me such language, as if I had been the arranteſt Roague and Rascall in the World, and when I was out of the Hall, where I civilly (understanding the nature of a Prisoner) disarmed my self, and was giving my sword into the hands of my freind, to carry home to my Wife, as my own proper goods, he would needs by force and violence rob me of it, saying it was his, and he would have it, so that I was forced to scuffle to preserve my selfe from being rob'd of my owne proper goods, and all this he did unto me, having no warrant at all about him, to meddle with me, nor I not offering the least affront in the world unto him.

Time was he used your enemies, to my knowledge, ten times milder; for when Cap. *Hide* drew his sword in *Westminster* hall, of purpose to make an uproare there, whom I disarmed, and brought both him and his sword up to the House of Commons door, and by command of divers members, delivered them both to the Sergeant, yet immediately after, during the time of a Conferrence, hee let both him and his sword goe to his comrades in

Westminster Hall, who being no sooner there amongst them, but he occasioned almost a 100. of them to draw, and fall to slashing and cutting, having driven the naked people up the very Parliament staires, with a resolution (for any thing I could perceive) to cut all your throats in the House, for the preventing of which, Sir *Rich. Wiseman*, my selfe, and divers other Citizens with our swords in our hands, freely adventured our lives.

Hereupon Mr. *Lile* stept up, and very soberly expressed himselfe to this effect; Mr. *Corbit*, I desire to know whether or no Mr. *Lilburne* intends by way of Petition to declare these expressions of his to the House, or whether he intends herby some other way, as to cast an aspertion of injustice upon the whole House of Commons, and to shew his refractarines to answer to their Intergatories; unto which I replyed; Sir, for Petitioning the House, I have no intention to doe it about this businesse; having petitioned long enough to no purpose already in another case, and as for your other expressions, I humbly conceive my words are plaine, and he that reads them, may easily understand them, and if you can expresse them plainer then they are already written, and reach my sense and meaning, I shall willingly subscribe my hand to them, or if you please to give me Pen, Inke and Paper, I shall write mine own words my self, and my name at the bottome of them, whereupon divers of them wished me to take heed what I did: I told them, Gentlemen, I speake not the words of rashnes, or inconsiderateness, but of deliberation, having something pondered upon them before I came to you, neither doe I speake the words of lightnesse, as though I would say a thing this houre, and fall from it the next; but I speak that which I will stand too, and live and die by, humble submitting my body to your pleasure; so being commanded to withdraw, I said, Gentlemen, I humbly crave leave to make one desire more to you, which is, that you will be pleased to give me a copy of your Question, and mine own Answer, but it was denied; and so I withdrew.

Now what the Issue of all this will bee, the Lord knows, for my part, I may justly say in the words of the Prophet *Esai.* chap. 59.14.&c. *Therefore Judgement is turned backward, and Justice standeth a farre off: for truth is fallen in the street, and equity cannot enter, yea, truth faileth, and he that departeth from evill, maketh him-*

himself a prey: but the Lord saw it, it displeased him, that there was no Judgement, and when he saw that there was no man, he wondered, that none would offer himself, therefore his arme did save it, and his righteousnesse it self did sustaine it; for hee put on righteousnesse as a breast-plate, and a helmet of Salvation *upon his head, and he put on the garments of vengeance for cloathing, and was clad with zeal as a cloak, and will repay fury to his adversaries, and recompence to his enemies.*

Time was when the Parliament had to doe with the King, and had the Bishops, Starchamber, and High Commission to pull down, they would owne me, and doe me justice, yea, so high in their thoughts was I once, that the very day and houre the King caused me to be arraigned for my life, before the whole House of Peeres about the Earle of *Strafford*, the King himselfe sending my Accusation against me, which was upon the 4. of *May*, 1641. Yet notwithstanding, the House of Commons owned mee, and then made these Votes for me, *First, that the Sentence of the Star-chamber given against me, is Illegall, and against the Libertie of the Subject, and also bloody, wicked, cruell, barbarous and tyrannicall. Secondly, That reparations ought to be given me for my imprisonment, sufferings and losses sustained by that Illegall sentence.*

But having served their own turnes of me, I never could have Justice from them since, though I thinke I have been as faithfull a servant to the Common-wealth as any they ever imployed, and bid defiance to all men in the World, to brand or tax me with unfaithfulnesse; and whereas *Magna Carta* saith, *Justice and right we will denie to none, nor we will deferre to none*, yet have *I* awayted these 4. yeers upon them, at great expenses, and cannot get them to put their owne Votes in execution, and if this be according to *Magna Carta*, let the World judge.

And now of late *I* have followed them aboue these 6. moneths, to the expence of about 100l. to get a Petition read, that *I* might have Justice, and something of that which is mine owne, to pay my debts, and buy me and mine bread, and have made all the freinds *I* could in the House, but as *I* conceive, *I* have been denied Justice and Right; and two severall times have *I* been with the Speaker himself, at his owne house, humbly to crave his assistance. But so lofty and high was hee, that hee would not so much as

look upon me, or speake with me, though *I* waighted upon him to his very Coach; And within two or three dayes after *I* had been with him, finding no compassion at all, printed my Petition, and at the House of Commons doore delivered above 150. Copies thereof to the Members, as they went in; and yet for all that, could not get it read in the House; Whereupon, as one of my last hopes, *I* went downe to the Army upon Munday was a Moneth, (of purpose to my honoured Friend, Lieutenant Generall *Cromwell*, who formerly had taken compassion on me in my bands, and under God, was the principall instrument to get me my liberty from my long Captivity by the Bishops, *I* say *I* went downe to him to get his Letter to some of the Members here, to desire them to helpe forward my businesse; which *I* accordingly procured, and have delivered the Originall, and Copies of it to divers Members of the House, a true Copy whereof *I* have sent you here enclosed, and *I* professe, the getting of this Letter was the end of my going downe to the Army, and my journey, going, staying, and comming, cost me about 10l. divers of my freinds of good qualitie there, desiring me to stay till they had some ingagement, that so *I* might be the joyfull messenger of good tydings, to the Parliament, they conceiving thereby, that that would be a principall meanes to helpe forward my businesse that *I* was negotiating in the House, which was nothing but that *I* might have Justice, and injoy the fulfilling of the Parliaments own Votes and Ordinances.

Extraordinary hard *I* rode about 150. miles, the way *I* came in a strange Country, and amongst many hazards at my own cost and charges, and brought up the first Letters that came from any fighting Officers that *I* could heare of, and gave the House a true and punctuall Relation of the businesse, according to what mine owne eyes saw, and at the desire of some of the Members, put it in writing, and afterwards in Print; and for my recompence, *I* enjoyed nothing but jeares, scoffes and abuses, and that eminently, but what the ground of all this should be, *I* know not, unlesse it be because *I* neither love a slave, nor feare a Tyrant; and upon Friday next after my comming home, *I* came to *Westminster* (about my businesse, not so much as thinking of any thing they were debating of in the House, my thoughts being onely of my

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Petition, and honourable *Cromwells* Letter) where I met with one Mr. *Robinſon* accidentally, juſt as I came into the Hall about 12. a clock, who tould me of a buſineſſe, concerning Colonell *Hallis*, which I immediately communicated to Mr. *Samuel Gooſe*, then ſtanding hard by me, which hee the ſaid *Robinſon* repeated over and over againe and againe, and Maſter *Gooſe* took notice of it, which we without any deſigne in the world (ſaving the diſcharge of our duty) made knowne to ſome Members of the Houſe, which Relation that we made, Mr. *Robinſon* ownes, and ſaith he will juſtifie it to death, and for which he is ſince committed to *Ely* houſe.

The lyes and reproaches that are ſince caſt upon me by divers great ones, forceth me to give you this ſhort account of it; It is looked upon by ſome, as though *I* deſigned it in the Army, (and truly juglers of late have got a fine device to blinde the eyes of the World, by loading honeſt men with Reproaches, as hee is an *Independent*, and therefore nothing muſt be given eare unto that he ſaith, though never ſo true,) but *I* proteſt before the preſence of the God of heaven and earth, *I* had not one word of diſcourſe upon it in the Army; others ſay, that I hired Mr. *Robinſon* to it, which is the moſt notorious lye in the World, and which practiſe is ſo deteſtible to me, that *I* wiſh with all my ſoule, that all the practiſers of ſuch baſeneſſe were hanged, (it may be the rayſers of ſuch a lye, are verſed in ſuch god-leſſe like wayes, & therefore take the boldneſſe to ſquare other men by their owne rule,) for all that *I* ſaid to Mr. *Gooſe* was this, after we had been with Mr. *Robinſon* at the Dogg-Taverne, to drink a pint of Wine, *I* ſpake to Mr. *Gooſe* to this effect; that Mr. *Robinſon* had been imployed by my Lord Generall *Eſſex*, Alderman *Pennington* and others, as an *Intelligencer* in the Kings Quarters, and did my ſelf, and other Priſoners in *Oxford* good ſervice in our ſtraights, by ſending our Letters to *London* for us, &c. and *I* beleeved hee was now in the condition of many others (that have done the Parliament good ſervice) very poore, and if Mr. *Gooſe* would be an *Inſtrument* to helpe him to any imployment about the Exciſe, whereby he might get a ſubſiſtance, *I* told him it would be added of Charity to a man in want, as *I* conceived him to be, and if this be to hire *Robinſon*, who had declared his Relation before ever *I* ſpake a word of this to Maſter *Gooſe*, *I* leave every ra-

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tionall man to judge; nay, I averre this for truth, that Mr. *Robinson* was so forward to declare it, both now and formerly unto me, without my speaking or desiring, or the promising of any curtesie in the world for the doing of it; and I doe verily beleeve, he is a man that in his soul hates such baseneſſe.

Upon Saturday, the 19. of *July*, I came againe to the Parliament, which morning there came three Citizens downe from *London*, namely Mr. *Prity* a Draper, and one of his neighbours in *Dowgate*, and one Mr. *Worly*, that lives about *Moore-fields*, to *Weſtminſter*, and for my part, I neither knew their buſineſſe, nor intentions, for they were a giving in their informations before Foure Members of the Houſe of Commons, namely Col. *Rigby*, Sir *Walter Earle*, Col. *Long*, and Mr. *Corbit*, before *I* knew what they were about, though *I* confeſſe, *I* have often in *London* heard of ſuch a buſineſſe conſerning Sir *John Lenthall* and the Speaker, &c. as they were giving information of, which was known to thouſands of Citizens by the hearing of the eare, and *I* confeſſe, when *I* heard Mr. *William Pendred* ſpeak firſt of them, her ſpake ſo freely of them, being of ſo great conſernment, that *I* profeſſe *I* was affraid to heare any more; yet it ſeems Dr. *Baſtwick*, (a man that ſtands obliged to me with as many tyes of freindſhip and reſpect, as *I* am confident he doth to any man in the world, for whom *I* have often, both in *England* and *Holland*, adventured my life, and all that was mine, and for whoſe ſake and cauſe, as an earthly inſtrument, *I* underwent all the ſorrowes & miſeries that *I* ſuffered from the Biſhops, for divers yeers together,) ſent in a paper to the Speaker, to informe him that *I* had accuſed him for ſending 60000l. to *Oxford*, though with the ſaid Dr. *Baſtwick*, to my remembrance, *I* had not any diſcourſe at all about any ſuch buſineſſe, for the diſcourſe *I* had about that buſineſſe was with Lieutenant Col. *Roe*, the Scout Maſter Generall of the City, whom *I* brought up out of the Garden, to the aforeſaid three Citizens, that had newly given in their Information under their owne hands, Mr. *Worly*, one of the three, being Lievten. Col. *Roes* old acquaintance, who then told him more, *I* am confident of it, by many degrees then before he had from me; yet, as *I* am informed, upon Dr. *Baſtwicks* paper barely, the Speaker got a Vote (before *I* ever knew any thing, though *I* all day waited upon the Parliament) to paſſe the Houſe in theſe words.

Die

Die Sabbati 19. *July*, 1645.

Resolved upon the Question by the Commons assembled in Parliament, that Lievtenant Colonell Lilburne *be forthwith taken into custody by the Sergeant at Armes attending this House, and so kept till the House take further order.*

To the Sergeant of Arms attending on this house, or to his deputy, &c. } *H. Elsyng* Cler. Parl. d. Com.

By meanes of which Vote, *I* am committed to Prison, before ever *I* was heard speake, though all day, at (or within call of) the doore, and though a man in all my actions firme for the Common wealth, yet committed *I* know not wherefore, which is contrary (as *I* conceive) to the true intent of *Magna Carta*, and to that just practise that was amongst the very Heathen *Roman* Governours, who say, *Acts* 25. 27. that it seemeth unreasonable, to send a prisoner, and not withall to signifie the crimes laid against him: by meanes of which *I* am ingaged whether *I* will or no in a businesse which *I* had no finger in, the prosecuting whereof (as *I* conceive) *I* am now tyed to have an eye to, but *I* thinke, that at the conclusion of it, if the Speaker sit downe and reckon the gaines he will get by his so unwisely medling with me, and so unwarrantably committing me to prison, he will not be three-halfe-pence the richer for it, for *I* am confident that God will make good what he hath said, which is, that he will punish the world *for their evill, and the wicked for their iniquity, and he will cause the Arrogancy of the proud to cease, and will lay low the haughtinesse of the terrible, for behold the day of the Lord commeth, cruell both with wrath and feirce anger, to lay the land of wickednesse desolate: and to destroy the sinners thereof out of it*, Isai. 13. and as the same Prophet saith, chap. 26. *for although favour be shewed to the wicked, yet will he not learne righteousnesse: in the land of uprightnesse will he deale unjustly, and will not behold the Majesty of the Lord.* Yea, saith the Prophet, *though the hand of the Lord be lifted up, they will not see: but they shall see, and be ashamed for their envie at the people, yea, the fire of thine enemies shall devoure them; but as for those that walk uprightly*, he saith, *the meek shall increase their joy in the Lord, and and the poore amongst men shall rejoyce in the holy One of Israel*; and one reason is, *because the terrible one is brought to nought, and the scorner is consumed, and all that watch for iniquitie shall be cut off*;

whose practise it is to make a man an offender for a word, and to lay snares for him that reproveth in the gate, and turne aside the just for a thing of nought, Isa. 29.19'20.21. I entreat you to read what God saith of such men in the next chapter, from *verse* 9. to 15.

For my part, though I heare bayle will not be taken for me, so great is my crime, though yet I know it not, nor am not convicted of any, and though I heare that my person is so odious in the eyes of many great ones, that some of them thought there was ground for committing Col. *Russel*, and Col. *Ireton*, &c. for talking with me in the Court of Requests upon Saturday last, although they were not able to mention one word that we said; oh but my businesse was an Independant plot, and they were talking with me, and that was crime enongh for them to be committed; O brave times! and brave justice! and yet for all this I say, my resolution is to stand fast in the Libertie and freedome wherewith *Magna Carta* and the *Petition of Right*, and severall Acts made this present Parliament, as also divers late Declarations, hath mane me free, and not to be intangled againe with any yoke of Bondage, that shall be hung about my neck, by any kind of Tyrant, by what name or Title soever he be dignified or distinguished; and though men be never so great, mighty, and Potent, that shall set themselves against me, to destroy me, contrary to Law, Equity, Justice and Conscience, I shall not feare ten thousand of them, put them altogether, because my confidence and hope is in him, that hath said to all those that are his *Feare thou not, for I am with thee: be not dismaied, for I am thy God: I will strengthen thee, yea I will help thee: yea I will uphold thee with the right hand of my Righteousnesse. Behold all they that were incenced against thee shall be ashamed and confounded: they shall be as nothing, and they that strive with thee shall perish. Thou shalt seeke them, and shalt not find them, even them that contended with thee; they that warre against thee shall be as nothing, and as a thing of nought. For I the Lord thy God will hold thy right hand, saying unto thee feare not, I will help thee, Feare thou not thou worme Jacob, and yee men of Israel, I will help thee, saith the Lord thy Redeemer, the holy one of Israel. Behold I will make thee a new sharpe thresting instrument, having teeth: Thou shalt thresh the mountaines, and beate them small, and shalt make the hills as chaffe? Thou shalt fan them, and the wind shall carry them away, & the whirlewind shall scatter them: and thou shalt re-*

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joyce in the Lord & glory in the holy One of Israel. Isa. 41. ver. 10. to 16.

Deare freind, I never thought before now, to have had the cause (with sorrow and greife) from the Parl. to have expressed my selfe in such sad & complaining lines, consideing my thoughts have been so high of them, that if I had had ten thousand lives at the beginning of this war, I should have ventured them all for them, yea, if it had been to have stript my self to my shirt, though I had not left my wife and my familie, wherewith to have subsisted, because they began and went on so gallantly in such an impartiall way of Justice, but now methinks I am at a stand, seeing the stream is turned, & for my part, I may cry out with sadnes of spirit, it runs with a full current. About 4. years agoe they voted me to have reparations for all my sufferings, with the estates of all my enemies in their hands by sequestrations, saving some that sit in both Houses, and one or two that are at their homes by their protection, and yet I cannot get a penny. An Ordinance or Declaration they made at the beginning of these wars, that what person soever should loose any of their estates for their reall affection to the Parliament, they promise to make them reparations; In their service have I been, and like a man of resolution, adventured my life before I was caried Prisoner to *Oxford*, where for almost a year I with full courage and resolution, contemnd no smal proffers of wordly honour and glory, comeing from the King himself, by the hand of 4. several *Lords*, & underwent as many sorrowes I think as was almost possible for one man to doe, lying like amongst other miseriers 4. or 5. dayes speechlesse, in the mean time being ruined in my estate, to the value of 6. or 7000 l. I left behind me at *London*, which I can cleerly make appear, but not a penny recompence I have had to this day. After my deliverance, I served under my Lord of *Manchester*, where and with whom I adventurd my life as freely as any man in the Army, & the best requital that I got at his hand, was an earnest endeavour by him to hang me, for taking *Tickel* Castle from the Cavaleers of al whose Proceedings towards me in that particular I divers moneths agoe gave punctual information under my hand to Mr. *Lile*, that was Chairman for the businesse betwixt him and Lieutenant Generall; but I can hear nothing of it, unlesse it be notched upon the tally, to pay me with an unwelcome and undeserved requitall, & though plunderes, fall musterers, lewd & debcyst persons had their pay very wel by him, yet into my debt he and the State doe still run

whose practise it is to make a man an offender for a word, and to lay snares for him that reproveth in the gate, and turne aside the just for a thing of nought, Isa.29.19'20.21. I entreat you to read what God saith of such men in the next chapter, from *verse* 9.to 15.

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Generall; but I can hear nothing of it, unless it be notched upon the tally, to pay me with an unwelcom and undeserved requitall, & though plunderes, fall musterers, leud & debcyst persons had their pay very wel by him, yet into my debt he and the State doe still run

whose practise it is to make a man an offender for a word, and to lay snares for him that reproveth in the gate, and turne aside the just for a thing of nought, Isa. 29.19'20.21. I entreat you to read what God saith of such men in the next chapter, from *verse* 9. to 15.

For my part, though I heare bayle will not be taken for me, so great is my crime, though yet I know it not, nor am not convicted of any, and though I heare that my person is so odious in the eyes of many great ones, that some of them thought there was ground for committing Col. *Russel*, and Col. *Ireton*, &c. for talking with me in the Court of Requests upon Saturday last, although they were not able to mention one word that we said; oh but my busines was an Independant plot, and they were talking with me, and that was crime enongh for them to be committed; O brave times! and brave justice! and yet for all this I say, my resolution is to stand fast in the Libertie and freedome wherewith *Magna Carta* and the *Petition of Right*, and severall Acts made this present Parliament, as also divers late Declarations, hath mane me free, and not to be intangled againe with any yoke of Bondage, that shall be hung about my neck, by any kind of Tyrant, by what name or Title soever he be dignified or distinguished; and though men be never so great, mighty, and Potent, that shall set themselves againſt me, to destroy me, contrary to Law, Equity, Justice and Conscience, I shall not feare ten thousand of them, put them altogether, because my confidence and hope is in him, that hath said to all those that are his *Feare thou not, for I am with thee: be not dismaied, for I am thy God: I will strengthen thee, yea I will help thee: yea I will uphold thee with the right hand of my Righteousnesse. Behold all they that were incenced against thee shall be ashamed and confounded: they shall be as nothing, and they that strive with thee shall perish. Thou shalt seeke them, and shalt not find them, even them that contended with thee; they that warre against thee shall be as nothing, and as a thing of nought. For I the Lord thy God will hold thy right hand, saying unto thee feare not, I will help thee, Feare thou not thou worme Jacob, and yee men of Israel, I will help thee, saith the Lord thy Redeemer, the holy one of Israel. Behold I will make thee a new sharpe thresting instrument, having teeth: Thou shalt thresh the mountaines, and beate them small, and shalt make the hills as chaffe? Thou shalt fan them, and the wind shall carry them away, & the whirlewind shall scatter them: and thou shalt re-*

joyce

joyce in the Lord & glory in the holy One of Israel. Isa. 41. ver. 10. to 16.

Deare freind, I never thought before now, to have had the cause (with sorrow and greife) from the Parl. to have expressed my selfe in such sad & complaining lines, consideing my thoughts have been so high of them, that if I had had ten thousand lives at the beginning of this war, I should have ventured them all for them, yea, if it had been to have stript my self to my shirt, though I had not left my wife and my familie, wherewith to have subsisted, because they began and went on so gallantly in such an impartiall way of Justice, but now methinks I am at a stand, seeing the stream is turned, & for my part, I may cry out with sadnes of spirit, it runs with a full current. About 4. years agoe they voted me to have reparations for all my sufferings, with the estates of all my enemies in their hands by sequestrations, saving some that sit in both Houses, and one or two that are at their homes by their protection, and yet I cannot get a penny. An Ordinance or Declaration they made at the beginning of these wars, that what person soever should loose any of their estates for their reall affection to the Parliament, they promise to make them reparations; In their service have I been, and like a man of resolution, adventured my life before I was caried Prisoner to *Oxford*, where for almost a year I with full courage and resolution, contemnd no smal proffers of wordly honour and glory, comeing from the King himself, by the hand of 4. several *Lords*, & underwent as many sorrowes I think as was almost possible for one man to doe, lying like amongst other miseriers 4. or 5. dayes speechlesse, in the mean time being ruined in my estate, to the value of 6. or 7000. *l.* I left behind me at *London*, which I can cleerly make appear, but not a penny recompence I have had to this day. After my deliverance, I served under my Lord of *Manchester*, where and with whom I adventurd my life as freely as any man in the Army, & the best requital that I got at his hand, was an earnest endeavour by him to hang me, for taking *Tickel* Castle from the Cavaleers of al whose Proceedings towards me in that particular I divers moneths agoe gave punctual information under my hand to Mr. *Lile*, that was Chairman for the businesse betwixt him and Lieutenant Generall; but I can hear nothing of it, unlesse it be notched upon the tally, to pay me with an unwelcom and undeserved requitall, & though plunderes, fals musterers, lewd & debcyst persons had their pay very wel by him, yet into my debt he and the State doe still run

that while was I under his command about 700l. and for any thing I can perceive, I am likely to be paid at *Domes-day* in the afternoone, though the Association (as I have been informed) made very good payment to him, and besides all this, Mr. *Prinne* writ books, and the Parliament licensed them, wherein he presseth to have all those destroyed and cut in pieces which he stiles Independants, &c. for all the good services they had done the Kingdome, and poor *I*, being almost overwhelmed in my spirit at the perusall of them, knowing my own integrity and uprightnesse (as also all the rest of those he defames) towards our native Country, though I had been silent from the beginning of the Parliament to that very day, and had not in print medled or made with the Controversies of the Church (as they call them) and then by his unsufferable slanders, wicked, bloody and un-English-man like provocations, having written Book upon book against me and my harmlesse Brethren, tending causelesly to our utter ruine and destruction.

For preventing of which, I writ to him an Epistle in one sheet of paper, which *I* sent to him by the hands of one *Ralph Walton*, who delivered it into his own hands, the very night I sent it, which was three or foure dayes before it was printed, as not long since I declared to his face before the Committee of Examinations, and offered to prove it also, yet he both then and since in his late *Firebrand-booke*, *pag.* 34. most lyingly, just *William Prinne* like, affirms, That it was sent to the Presse, and published in Print before either he read it, or perused it, which is most false: for as *I* told the Committee, *I* having sent it him in writing, as before hee remaining silent, and returned me no Answer in three or foure dayes, according to my earnest desire, his very silence moved me to print it; and of this very false affirmation he was then ashamed, and durst not goe on to bide the proof of it, but put it off with one of his sophisticall tricks, and also before the Committee at this very time to his face, I challenged him hand to hand, to dispute upon any one Proposition hee would pitch upon in the whole Letter, and referre my self to the Committee themselves to be Judges, and would stand to their judgement, but the Paltry *Singleton* declined it, and durst not joyne issue, and yet of late, in his *Gunpowder-booke*, railes and reviles me for that very Letter, as though nothing would quench his inflamed fiery thirst, but my deerest blood?

And about this very businesse, it seems hee was the man that got Justice *Whittiker* to commit me to custody about the 14. of *May*, before

fore that either I knew my accuſer, or my accuſation, or was heard to peak one word for my ſelf, though the Order of the Houſe (by vertue of which that Committee examined me about that buſineſſe) was only to ſummon me;& upon Tueſday I gave in my defence in a whole ſheet of paper, under my own hand, according to the Committees own direction, which was ſo ſatisfactory to them, that they bade me goe home about my buſineſſe, and if Mr. *Prin* ſhould never call upon it again,I was diſcharged,which ſo far as I can judge, hee never durſt doe; and then comes out Dr. *Baſwicks* fire and gun-powder, tuch'd with *Wil.Prins* match-book, in the Preface of one of which he tells us,*that it is the daily diſcourſe of the Independants, &c. That they have the ſword now in their hands,and they ſcorne to be beholden to the Parliament for their liberty of Conſcience, for they will have it whether they will or no,with their ſwords,and that they long for nothing ſo much, as for the cutting of all the Presbyterians throats*,with abundance of ſuch like expreſſions, of very dangerous conſequence,therefore I would Dr. *Baſtwick* would name the men, that have ſo ſaid,and produce his witneſſes,and let them come to a ſpeedy tryall, that they may receive their due deſerts for their pains, or elſe that Dr.*Baſtwick* may receive it for them, for ſcandalizing of them;I think it is very ſtrange,that the Parliament ſhould ſuffer none but ſuch books to come out by their owne Authority,and not to cauſe the Authour to produce the ſpeakers or movers of ſuch Sedition, but ſuffer them *cum privilegio*, in generall termes to come abroad,and then puniſh innocent men, for their juſt vindicating their reputations.

Truly, if this be juſt, I have loſt my judgment, and muſt begin to to learn *A.B.C.*again,this I ſay made me, to publiſh my reaſons containing my juſt defence in print, which I had given in to the Committee of Examinations,*May* 17. 1645.againſt which, if *Wil.Prin* can take any juſt advantage,methinks if he were but a rationall man(being ſo great & dear to authority,as he boaſts himſelf to be) he would not do as he doth, raile *Rabſhekah* like,but have made his Reply to it before the Committe,where I am yet ready about that buſineſſe,or any other he can juſtly lay to my charge,to meet him there;but he letting that ſleep as he doth,makes me beleeve that he judgeth it a true opener of his baſe unworthines,which he is not willing to have ript more open,therfore he paſſeth by that,& within a little ſpace,(as was certified after) I was again impriſoned,he informing that I was the Author of *MARTINS* books, and then Juſtice *Whittiker* ſends another War-

raut to impriſon me before ever I knew my accuſer, or my accuſation, or ever was heard or ſuffered to ſpeak in mine owne defence, and when I came before the Committee, to know what they had to ſay to me, I was commanded to withdraw, and my adverſary *Prinne* he ſtayes within, as uſually he doth at al other times, which in my apprehention is not faire nor equall, the meaneſt man in the Kingdome that is a free man, having as great an intereſt in the priviledges of a free-man, as *Will. Prinne* hath: and in againe I was called and told, I muſt wait againe to morrow; I expreſſed my ſelfe againe and againe unto them, to give me leave to declare but one thing unto them, but heard I could not be till about two howers after, waiting at the door bemoaning and crying out to thoſe that ſtood by, of the ſad and deproralbe condition, that I and the reſt of the free people in *England* are fallen into, to be ſo unjuſtly impriſoned, for the expence of our blood for the juſt preſervation of our juſt freedoms, that we ſhould from Com mittees of Parliam. themſelves be impriſoned we know not where-fore, and when we come before them, according to their own commands that we ſhall be remanded back againe, and not ſuffered to ſpeake one word for our ſelves; *Heare O heavens, and give eare O earth and thou righteous god that loveſt juſtice, & judgment, and hateſt, and abhorreſt oppeſſion and cruelty, which makeſt wiſe men mad, put forth thy hand and doe juſtice thy ſelfe upon the unjuſt and unrighteous Judges of this age*, whom the people have ſet up for their good, namely to preſerve their lives, liberties and eſtates, as their faithfull Stewards and ſervants, and yet deſtroy what they would ſeem to maintaine.

For my part I look vpon the Houſe of Commons, as the ſupream Power of England, who have reſiding in them that power that is inherent in the people, who yet are not to act according to their own wils and pleaſure, but according to the fundamentall conſtitutions, and cuſtomes of the Land, which I conceive provides for the ſafety and preſervation of the people, unto whom J judge I am bound in Conſcience to yeild either activeor paſſive obedience, that is to ſay, either to doe what they commaund, or to ſubmit my body to their pleaſure, for not yeilding active obedience to what *I* conceive is unjuſt. And truly I ſhould much deſire to know of you, what you conceive of the Committy of Examinaions; For either it is a Court of Juſtice, or no Court of Juſtice, & either it is tyed unto Rules, or not tyed; but if it be a Court of Juſtice, and tyed unto Rules, when it ſits upon criminall cauſes betwixt man & man, concerning life, liberty or

Eſtate

Eſtate, of al which 3. they there take cognizance: me thinks they ſhould obſerve the method of other Courts of juſtice, and that which they themſelves did in all or moſt of their Committees at the beginning of this Parliament, that the dores might be open to all the free People of *England* that have a deſire to be preſent to ſee what they ſay or doe, not kept cloſe to keep out mens freinds, and ſuffer their enemies to be in and that men ſhould have the liberty of *Magna Carta, and the Petition of Right*, for which I have fought for all this while, and not be examined upon interrogatories concerning our ſelves, as wee uſed to be in the *Star-Chamber and High-Commiſſion*, and for refuſing to anſwer, to be committed.

For my particular, I was condemned in the Star-Chamber, meerly for refuſing to be examined upon Interrogatories, in the very ſame nature, as I am now by the Parliament; then I knew very well, that by the very law of nature I was bound not to betray my ſelfe; and the Houſe of Commons, May 4. 1641. have voted ſince, that that very Sentence was illegall, and unjuſt, and againſt the liberty of the Subject, *and yet now walke in the very ſelfe ſame ſtepes themſelves, and build up againe that, which by that Vote they formerly deſtroyed: I beſeech you marke it, for they remaunded me the other day backe to Priſon; for refuſing to Anſwer to their Interrogatories, and have done the ſame with divers others, as namely* John Turner *for one, now Priſoner in* Weſtminſter, *he knowes not for what, and ſo hath been about 30. weeks. I proteſt, I ſpeake from my very ſoule and conſcience, I am in ſuch a ſtrait and ſnare, I know not well what to ſay or doe, I would not for all the world, coſt it me hanging, drawing, burning, cutting in pieces, or what ever can be done unto me, ſinne againſt my owne Conſcience, in baſely and cowardly betraying my* Liberty, and the Liberty of this free Nation, *for which I have conteſted theſe eight yeares againſt all the unjuſt and Arbitrary Powers in England, neither would I willingly conteſt with the Parliament, if with the peace of a good conſcience I could any wayes tell how to avoyd it; I conceive, when they have private things concerning the diſcoveries of Treaſons againſt the State, and the like, to be examined, there is a great deale of reaſon it ſhould not have ſo large an extent as the forſaid caſe; I pray let me ſpeedily injoy your moſt ſerious thoughts about it in writing, which I ſhall take as a great favour and kindneſſe.*

Upon the thoughts of theſe things the other day, when the Sergeant at *Armes* came to proffer me ſome kindneſſes, for which I told him I would thanke him when *I* injoyed them from him, which I never yet

did

did in my life, and after much talke with him, *I* began in my owne thoughts to ponder and consider with my self, what was the reason and ground that made my Lord *Say*, and honest Colonell *Hambden* wage Law with the King in the dayes of old, I presently answered my self, it was becaus the King walked cuntrary to *Magna Carta*, and the *Petition of Right*, and oppressed them contrary to the true intent and meaning thereof, the consideration of which moved me amongst divers other things, to ask him this question; Mr. Sergant *I* pray tell me, what was the reason wherefore the *Earle* of *Strafford* and *Canterbury* lost their heads? Saith hee, *I* doe not know; well then Sir, if you doe not know, I will tell you, that it was becaus they troad *Magna Carta* (which *I* read unto him) under their feet, and indeavored to rule by their own wills, & so to set up an arbittary Government; therefore Sir, I beseech you, doe your Mr, the *Speaker* that favour, as present my service to him, and tell him that *I* desire him and the rest of his freinds, to take heed they doe not walke in their steps, if they doe, tell him *I* say, they are as accountable for their actions & doings, although being members of the house of Commons, as the other were who were Members of the House of Peers, and truly Mr. Sergeant, tell him *I* wonder with what face he & the rest can denie me Justice, and so long keep me from my monney, who have adventured my life, Estate, and all that is deare unto me for the good of them, and the Commonwealth, that they might sit in peace and quietnesse at home to doe justice and right according to the duty of their places, and tha that is expected from them by those that betrusted them to be their Stewards and servants; and many of them take to themselves 31. 10s. a week, and some of them more, and others great Places worth 500l. 1000l. 1500l. 2000l. and more *per annum*, and live in as great pompe, superfluity and bravery, as ever they did in their dayes, by the ruines of the people, when thousands, that have spent all they have in the world, and done the Kingdom good service, have not a bit of bread to put in their mouths, but what they borrow money to buy withall, and many poor Widdows & Fatherlesse children, that have lost their husbands & fathers in the publick service, by crying at their door, Bread Bread, and ready to curse them all to their faces, and they have no bowells of compassion towards them, O Sir, tell them from me, *I* say the cry of the Widdow and Fatherlesse, the poor and needy, the oppressed, and the afflicted, will cry lowd in the ears of the Lord of Hosts against them, and theirs, for judgement and vengeance.

When I seriously consider the multitudes of those oppressions, in the

the City of *London*, and all the Countreys in the Kingdom, that lie upon the poor Common People, who are as a prey to all sorts & kinds of men, that are in Authority and Office, and have none to complaine to, to have redresse from, great ones being so linked together, that meddle with one, and presently they all ingage in it, and in stead of a just redresse, indeavour to crush by Power and greatnesse the honest and wronged complainer, and by tricks to blast his reputation; and when *I* seriously consider the many windings and turnings, in that Army where *I* last served, and others of the like nature elsewhere, which to my self *I* have made observations upon, *I* am ready to think with my self, that when the King went away from *London*, he took not all his freinds away with him, but left some behind him here, to play his game for him, namely to weary out, and to oppresse and tyer the people, (that so they may long for peace upon any termes in the World, though never so unjust and unsafe,) that he may in an undiscerned way, effect that by policy, which before the warres he was not able by Power to accomplish, namely, to set himself downe in the full state of a Tyrant, to rule by his own will, over the Lives, Liberties and Estates of the free People of *England*, who now contending for their Liberties, which is their birth-right and inheritance, yet amongst those that would be thought their friends, are rob'd, plundered, spoyled, opprest, undone, and destroyed by all sides, and no remedy left for redresse, but the little ones to be eaten up of the great ones in every place, which makes poor mens lives a burthen to them, that they are ready to wish themselves back againe in *Egypt*, in their bondage, and rather to have one Tyrant then many, the which if the King could accomplish, he had done his worke, for then hee might put his foot into the stirrop, and get up into the saddle againe, without any fear of being dismounted, and might fall afresh to switching and spurring the poore tyred horse, by Courts as bad as Counsell-Table, Star-chamber, or High-Commission, thereby, and by Monopolies, and other wayes as bad as ship-money, make him sweat out his grease; and alasse the poor horse is so tyred out, that he hath not any ability at all left to throw off his rider, though he abuse him never so much, having already been so rarrased (even by those that would have been judged his freinds,) that he hath lost his courage, his strength, his stomack, and his leggs, being thereby so farre from being able to dismount his rider, that he is scarce able to goe a foot-mans pace; Oh for Justice! Justice betwixt a man and his neighbour, impartially, without respect of persons, which alone under God is the only cure of all *Englands* maladies, and without which the free People of this Kingdom are insensibly destroyed and undone irrecoverably.

Upon the writing of this, I have brought to my view *William Prinnes* new blasing *Fire-brand* book, and casting mine eye upon it, *I* cannot but wonder

at the ſimpliciue of the beſotted man, who formerly was ſo mad at *Young Martins* bo'oks, that he indeavoured to get every body to priſon that medled or made with them, and indeavoured by all wayes and meanes to have them ſuppreſſed, yet now he himſelfe publiſheth all the chief things in all his books, to the view of thouſands that durſt not meddle with them before, and yet now in his book may read them all in their ſhops or houſes, and make themſelves merry with them, by *Will Prinnes* meanes, *cum privilegio*; ſurely the man is out of his wits, God having made good that in *Eſai.* 29.14. upon him, where he ſaith, that he *will make the wiſedom of wiſe men to periſh, and the underſtanding of the prudent to be hid*; ſurely he hath done his maſters that ſet him at work more diſſervice by this one book, then ever he did them good by all the books that ever he writ for them; For in his Epiſtle to the Parliament, he keeps a mighty rayling againſt his Adverſaries (juſt *Rabſhekah-like*) crying, and calling for Juſtice againſt them, yea, cloſely taxing the Parliament for not doing juſtice upon them, for abuſing of them by their books, which comes but out by ſtealth in holes and corners, without publike lifence, and yet he himſelf in this his one book (which I conceive is put out by Parliamentary Authoritie,) moſt groſly abuſeth the Parliament, and the free People of *England*, and gives the greateſt advantage to his Antagoniſts, that poſſible can be given; amongſt other things, I will inſtance that buſineſſe of Sir *Sam. Luke*, who hath complained to the Committee of Examinations of Captain *Paul Hobſon*, and Cap. *Richard Beamond*, the buſineſſe having only proceeded thus far, that Sir *Sam. Lukes* witneſſes are examined, and as the Defendants tell me, the maine things he layes to their charge, is only proved by one witneſſe (who they ſay, is as baſe and vild as a man can be) and contradicted by 4. or 5. of Sir *Samuel Lukes* owne witneſſes, and not one of the Defendants witneſſes ſo much as examined, though indeed the Committee hath ſent for them, and the Defendants tell me, upon the Examination of them, they doe not doubt but evedently, and cleerly to make it appear, that the grand things laid to their charge, are meer forgeries and untruths, the ſubſtance of which you may read in the 4, 5. & 6. pag. of *Prinnes* Epiſtle to the Parliament, and in the 13. page of his book; now I ſay, for *Will. Prin* the Lawyer, but rather the *Grand-Lyar* (that would be thought one of the wiſeſt men in the world, though indeed he be one of the arranteſt Fooles and Idiots) to take upon him, during the very time that a buſineſſe is dependant before a Committee of Parliament (in which his book, he involves ſo many Perſons of eminency, quallity, and approved fidelity in the Kingdom) and before the buſineſſe be one half heard, or any part of the Defendants defence made, or any one of their witneſſes examined, the Defendants themſelves ſtifly averring that the main things charged upon them are notorious lyes, forgeries and falſhoods, which they will un-

dertake with the hazard of the losse of their lives cleerly to make appeare, now for *Will. Prinne* to take upon him to meddle with a busines depending before a Committee of Parliament, before they have either judg'd it, or half heard it, to passe sentence upon it, and condemne the parties, yea, to lash at the Parliament, for not doing justice upon them, before they have condemn'd them, and to publish this to the view of the world, with abundance of lyes and slanders, not only against the parties themselves, but also against Honourable Sir *Tho. Faireſax*, and honourable *Cromwell*, and divers other chief Officers in the Army, to whom the whole Kingdome owes so many Obligations of Honor and respect unto for all their faithfulnesse and good service done them, is so insufferable, unwarrantable, unjust, and abusive, as I think was never done by any to the Parliament since they sate besides Mr. *Prinne*, and I am confident, if I should have done as much as he hath in that book, and have been such a *Firebrand* as there he is, *I* should hardly escape *Tyburn*; for whereas he chargeth the Defendants for saying, that Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and all the Colonells in the Army, was ingaged in their designe (by which words he endeavours to make the Army odious to the people, and so fit to be deserted by them, though their actions have fully declared (for al Mr. *Prinnes*, and Dr. *Bastwicks* lyes and slanders) their faithfulnesse and candor to the Common-wealth,) who, I am confident, are so upright and noble, that they would count it their greatest dishonour to countenance the greatest Colonell in the Army in any act of basenesse whatsoever; and for the truth of that charge, the Defendants relate it thus to me, That Sir *Samuel* sent them prisoners to Sir *Thomas*, for meeting together the day after Sir *Thomas* his Victory at *Nasby*, where they were a giving thanks to God for his goodnesse towards the Kingdom in generall, and his servants and people in particular by that Victory, and being conducted prisoners by Sir *Samuels* Marshall, and one of his Ensignes, with others, they did abuse the two Captaines as they went, and vpon their complaint of it to Sir *Thomas*, and his Counsell of war, who examined it, the honourable Generall signified it in a Letter to Sir *Samuel*, desiring him to vindicate his own Honor so far, as to cashier the Marshall and Ensigne, and upon the Captaines arrivall at *Newport* back againe, they were told, That seeing Sir *Thomas* would not doe Justice, Sir *Sam.* would send them up to the Parliament, where he would have justice, unto which one of the Captaines replyed, Well, *I* will meddle no more in the businesse, for now Sir *Thomas* and his Colonells are ingaged in it, at which one would catch advantage; whereupon Cap. *Hobson* immediately desired the people then present, to take notice hee did not say nor meane, that they were ingaged to justifie them in their preaching, but being at *Newport* taxed for injustice, their honors laid at stake, which they were ingaged to vindicate, and this would be proved to be reall truth sufficiently; I can-

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not proceed for want of time any further with *Will. Prines* lies & fooleries, but must referre them to another time, for a more perticular answer to him, wherein I doubt not but to take off his great braggs of his superlative service that he hath done for the Kingdom, and shall Anatomise his distructive practises to the Commonwealth, in supporting Sir *Phil. Cartwright* the malignant Governour of *Gersey*, who by his means alone hath been as great an instrument of the support to the King in his unjust warres, as any hath been in *Eng.* I shall likewise make it appear, that he hath been a Protector of those that have betrayed the strong holds of the Parl. into the hands of the Caviliers, and a pleader of all malignant Priests causes, & others that would fee him well, and the pleader of Patents in point of law, and judges practises as binding to the People, though against expresse acts of Parl. and this he hath done lately before Committees of Parl. the doing of which tends to the destroying of *Magna Carta*, and the *Pet. of Right*, the overthrowers or destroyers thereof being Traytors to the Comon-wealth: but I shall not further proceed at present, but commit you to God, & rest, Your faithfull freind till Death, *Jo. Lilburne. From my Captivity, I know not where-fore, at Mr.* Knights, *Attendant to the House of Com.* Friday, *July*, 25. 1645.

¶ Here followeth a true Copy of Lieutenant Generall *Cromwells* Letter.

GEntlemen, *Being at this distance from* Lon. *I am forced to trouble you in a busines, which I would have done my self, had I been there; it is for* Lie. Col. Lilburne, *who hath done both you & the Kingdom good service, otherwise I should not have made use of such freinds, as you are: he hath a long time attended the House of Com. with a Petition, that he might have repairation according to their Votes, for his former sufferings and losses, and some satisfaction for his Arrears for his service of the State, which hath been a long time due unto him; To this day he cannot get his Petit. read; his attendance hath proved very expensive, and hath kept him from other imployment, & I beleeve that his former losses, and late services (which have been very chargeable) considered; he doth find it a hard thing in these times, for himself and his family to subsist; Truly it is a grief to see men ruine themselves through their affection & faithfulnes to the Publick, and so few lay it to heart: It would be an honor to the Parl. & an encouragement to those that faithfully serve them (if provisions were made for the comfortable subsistence of those, who have lost all for them.) And I can assure you, that this neglect of those that sincerely serve you, hath made some already quit their Commands in this Army, who have observed oftentimes their wives & children have begged, who have lost their limbs and lives in the Kingdoms service: I wish it were looked to betimes; That which I have to request of you is, that you give him your best assistance to get his Petition read in the House, and that you will doe him all lawfull favor & justice in it; I know he will not be unthankfull, but adventure himself as freely in the service of the Kingdom, as hitherto he hath done. Hereby you shall lay a spe-*

Oliver Cromwell. July the 29. 1645.